

Court Injunction Blocks Probe of Flour Monopoly

One Judge Appointed by Taft Makes Decision Balking Senate and People

(From "Labor"—Washington, D. C.) WASHINGTON, D. C.—Judge James Francis Smith, associate Judge of the United States Court of Customs Appeal and acting associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, has issued an injunction forbidding the Federal Trade Commission to examine the papers of the Millers' National Federation, popularly known as the "Milling League" or "Milling Trust." The injunction is of the most sweeping character, and virtually blocks the investigation which the Federal Trade Commission undertook in obedience to a resolution of the United States Senate.

On February 16, 1924, the Senate passed a resolution authorizing and requiring the Federal Trade Commission to investigate the production and distribution of flour and bread, including by-products. The commission was directed to make a report to the Senate, showing—

What the Senate Wanted

- 1—Costs, prices and profits at each stage from the time the wheat leaves the farm until the bread is delivered to the consumer.
- 2—Extent and methods of price fixing, price maintenance and price discrimination.
- 3—Developments in the direction of monopoly and concentration of control in the milling and baking industries, and all evidence indicating the existence of agreements, conspiracies or combinations in restraint of trade.

(Continued on Page 3.)

States Policies of Progressive Miners' Ticket

John Brophy and Associates to Fight for Nationalization And Labor Party

A leaflet written by John Brophy, progressive candidate for International President of the United Mine Workers of America, just issued for general circulation, contains the information that William Stevenson of Bay City, Michigan, candidate for International Vice-President, and William J. Bremner of Scranton, Pa., candidate for Secretary-Treasurer, have endorsed the program of Brophy and will give it full support.

This program as previously announced, and now explained in the circular, includes a new policy of intensive organization, the nationalization of public ownership of the coal mines, and the organization of a labor party in the United States.

The circular, among other things says:

"It is no secret that today the existence of our Union is in peril. In the last few years about 20,000 members have been lost to the Union. Entire districts, such as West Virginia, Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama and Colorado have been destroyed by the attacks of the operators, and in certain bituminous fields, as western and central Pennsylvania and parts of Ohio, the Union is slowly crumbling."

The pamphlet tells how these members were lost and indicates the policies by which they may be restored.

Regarding nationalization, it says:

"Nationalization, that is public ownership with Union share in management, is the official goal of the United Mine Workers, and conventions have instructed that efforts be made to reach it. Much valuable time has been lost because these instructions have not been followed. This program will give hope to the rank and file who no longer see hope in private ownership and management of the industry."

Regarding a labor party it says:

"A Labor Party is necessary to get justice for the Union in the courts and legislatures. Our conventions have expressed sympathy with this aim, but our cause has been injured by the support that certain leaders have given to reactionary, anti-labor politicians, such as Calvin Coolidge. We are paying the price for that now."

Business is running at only 70 per cent of its full capacity. The people have been so robbed by high prices they cannot buy back more than 70 per cent.

When playboy collapses, as it will and must, all the money the workers thought they were investing in industries will vanish into thin air. It was meant to do so in the first place."

U. S. Labor Men In Trip to Study Russia and Italy

Mission of Prominent Leaders to Also Visit Main Socialist Union Headquarters

CLEVELAND—The following statement is released by Albert F. Coyle:

For the first time in the history of the American labor movement a delegation of the nation's most prominent trade union executives intends to investigate labor and economic conditions in England, Italy, Russia, Germany, Belgium, France and other European lands, according to Pres. L. E. Shepard, Order of Railway Conductors, chairman of the delegation, and Albert F. Coyle, editor of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Journal, its secretary. Chairman Shepard, one of the best-known leaders of the American labor movement, was appointed by the president three years ago on a somewhat similar mission to investigate labor conditions in the Hawaiian Islands for the government.

The purpose of the delegation, according to its official representatives, is to secure reliable first-hand information regarding the conditions of labor and labor unions across the Atlantic, and especially to secure accurate facts about labor's status in Soviet Russia, under a communistic workers' government, and in Fascist Italy, where regular labor unions are declared illegal and ruthlessly suppressed by the dictator Mussolini.

The delegation as announced today will consist of representatives both of the railroad brotherhoods and the largest unions in the American Federation of Labor. Although the delegation at its last convention in Atlantic City decided not to pay the expenses of an official mission to Russia, the present delegation in no way conflicts with this decision, since its members are going in their private capacity and not as an official body.

In addition to the inclusion of prominent officers of the transportation brotherhoods, the Brotherhood of Railroad and Steamship Clerks is to be represented by Phil E. Ziegler, editor of the brotherhood's official magazine.

Executives from 5 of the most influential international unions in the A. F. of L. comprise an important section of the delegation, while western labor is represented by Frank Palmer, editor of the Colorado Labor Advocate and a prominent member of the Int'l. Typographical Union.

Meetings are to be arranged with the British Labor party, the Int'l. Labor Office at Geneva, and the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam, as well as with the leading leaders of the Italian and Russian labor movements. The delegation intends to leave early next July and return during September.

Suit for false arrest will be brought by Norman Thomas, socialist and member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union against Bergen County, New Jersey, officials who were responsible for holding him in jail on a charge of violating the "riot law" proclaimed by Sheriff George P. Nieman during clashes between police and textile strikers last April. After being held under \$10,000 bail for five months, the case against him was dismissed last week by the refusal of the Grand Jury to indict.

Mr. Thomas was arrested when he attempted to speak at a free-speech meeting arranged by the Civil Liberties Union. While his friends were denied knowledge of his whereabouts, he was rushed to Hackensack and brought before Justice of Peace Hargraves, who according to Mr. Thomas, "after some two hours labor managed to draw up a formally arraigned complaint alleging that I had violated a Riot Act which had never been read in my hearing."

The letter which Stephenson wrote to Asher follows:

"My Dear Friend and Partner: I have thought over your plans and I really believe you know what they are about. You are one I am confident will consider and act on it."

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RULERS

By James Larkin Pearson

The fat old men foregathered in steel-and-concrete towers, And shook their bags of mony And boasted of their powers.

The lean young men went marching, The lonesome women cried; And there was war and glory, And rest for those who died.

The fat old men made merry, With pomp and power increased, And all the human vultures Were bidden to the feast.

Then up rose want and hunger, And death and foul decay; They gnawed the firm foundations, And all the house gave way.

Now there is fear and quaking In strong-built office-chairs, And rulers weep that vengeance Falls on them unawares.

The Broadcaster

America contains a lot of poor people who have made the idlers rich and a lot of rich people who have made the workers poor.

The reason your prospect is dreary is because you have been buying yourself the prospect bright for a few others.

One reason why Socialists find so much evil in things as they are is because they sink the plumbot to the bottom instead of skimming the surface of things like others do.

Wise workers are willing to put money into Socialism because it will enable them to get more money out of their efforts. It is good business for him.

If the ballot is not the best weapon, then the army and navy are logical and war is right.

Socialism will not "give" you anything except an opportunity to live broadly and happily, free of exploitation.

You can't give anything to Socialism. You simply invest in Socialism. The more you invest the sooner it will be on its feet and going.

If the people only knew how weak plutocracy knows itself to be, they would give it a mild shove and it would be clear out of the way.

Love may make the world go round, but it is the profit system that makes it go around and around.

Ideas of our fathers. The new ideas of today must and will build the world anew.

Debs Flays Taft, Whose Judicial Puppet Saved Flour Trust from Law

By EUGENE V. DEBS

William Howard Taft is Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the highest office in the judicial administration of the United States.

This august tribunal is the final arbiter in deciding cases between the government supposedly representing the people and the great trusts which under the license of laws enacted at their own dictation, are looting the nation and robbing the people.

The Chief Justice receives an annual salary of \$17,500.00 but this does not seem sufficient to cover the needs of the present incumbent.

It has been publicly charged in the Hearst and other newspapers, and so far as we know never denied, that this is the underlying principle espoused by labor in almost every other country in the world. Control of industry through the instrumentality of the state is specifically banned.

The result is seen here in the appointment by the new Liberal government of Peter Heenan as "Labor-Liberal" and is appointed Minister of Labor.

OTTAWA, Canada—Capitalism has already shown its hand in the struggle between independent political action and A. F. of L. nonpartisan action in Canada. It is on the A. F. of L. side against the workers who are building up a growing independent Labor Party in Canada.

The result is seen here in the appointment by the new Liberal government of Peter Heenan as "Labor-Liberal", in other words, the control of industry by the people is shunned, in contrast to the fact that this is the underlying principle espoused by labor in almost every other country in the world. Control of industry through the instrumentality of the state is specifically banned.

The desire of complete domination either by employers, by workers or through the instrumentality of the state is denounced in the opening paragraphs of the report proper as "undesirable and harmful to the general community as well as industry." The trade unions of America are declared a helpful and constructive force in maintaining and perpetuating Americanism and its free and democratic institutions.

After thus giving American capitalists clear and unopposed title to the means of employment and life, as far as these labor chieftains are concerned, and sanctioning the exclusion of labor from a voice and vote in industry, they advocate a system of voluntary cooperation of trade unionists between

A. F. of L. Council Urges Capital-Labor Cooperation

Reward Engineer Who Quits Labor Party in Canada

Peter Heenan runs as "Labor-Liberal" and is appointed Minister of Labor

Worker and Public Control of Industry Barred in Favor of New Plan

DETROIT—Cooperation between capital and labor, between industrial master and slave, rather than independence, citizenship and sovereignty of labor in industry, is advocated as the principle behind the American Federation of Labor in the annual report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. reported to the 46th annual convention of the American Federation of Labor on October 4, the opening day of the session in Detroit.

The principle of industrial democracy—the control of industry by the people—is shunned, in contrast to the fact that this is the underlying principle espoused by labor in almost every other country in the world. Control of industry through the instrumentality of the state is specifically banned.

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(Continued on Page 3)

Secret Revealed—U. S. Ships Sold to Favor Combine

(Editorial from Washington Daily News)

The chairman of our Shipping Board suggests that European nations join with the United States in the formation of a world-wide shipping combine.

Not content with peddling, at 14 cents on-the-dollar, our merchant marine, built with our hard-earned tax money, T. V. O'Connor, lunching in London, tells foreign ship owners and financiers that the United States would like to "divide territory and reduce competition." Mr. O'Connor tells the world that the United States is anxious to "secure" a "private owned" merchant marine. He deprecates competition. Competition in the language of modern monopoly, is wasteful. It is destructive.

If the great nations of the world, says O'Connor, "are to persevere in their ocean industry, something must be done to stop the waste upon the seas. No shipping company should be willing to go to the hospital for the sake of sending its rival to the mortuary."

Something smugly familiar about this talk.

When the ship owners of the world are ready, regardless of flag, to sit around a table and discuss present conditions upon the ocean I wish to assure you that if invited we will be glad to take our place at the table.

We wonder where Mr. O'Connor gets his authority to make this proposal.

Mr. O'Connor told the foreign ship owners that the Shipping Board had not invoked the law passed by Congress giving preferential rates to goods destined for shipment to foreign ports.

"During the summer months unemployment in the various countries has remained nearly stationary. Although in comparison with the first months of the year there is a decrease, the position of the unemployed in the European countries is still terrible, and there are but slight signs of improvement in the economic world."

"The eager pursuit of technical efficiency among various industrialists is not calculated to promote the re-absorption of the unemployed into industry."

"In many of the countries only the percentage of unemployment among the unions is reported. The vast army of unorganized unemployed is not given."

Among outstanding examples are, Austria, 147,900; Czechoslovakia, about 200,000; Denmark, 46,779; Germany, 1,540,000; Great Britain, 1,349,800; Holland, 16,668; Hungary, 23,559; Italy, 76,000; Norway, 16,658; Poland, 292,296; Russia, 1,091,000; Sweden, 22,713; Switzerland, 9,731.

President Green of the American Federation of Labor told President Coolidge recently that 23 per cent of the organized workers of America were unemployed.

The Palestine government railroads for 1925-26 showed \$500,000 profit.

The profits by the Tory press are a case of the devil quoting Scripture.

The world that is was shaped by the in other days courts used the injunction. Now they issue the injunction.

Ex-Leader Lifts Curtain on Klan Rule on United States

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana—The real meaning of the Ku Klux Klan as a political power in America as revealed by its control of one state, Indiana, has been indicated in the sensational outcome of a promised exposure, by its former leader, now in prison for a murder.

Complete exposure of the Ku Klux Klan control of governmental machinery in this state under D. C. Stephenson, former grand dragon, was promised tonight by the special investigating committee of the Indiana Republican Editorial Association, headed by Thomas H. Adams of Vincennes.

Stephenson, serving a life term for the murder of a girl, has written a letter, which is in the hands of the committee, in which he states his purpose to make a complete confession of the methods by which, and the men through whom, he formerly exerted his power.

He letter was addressed to Court Asher, a former klungle and henchman of Stephenson while the grand dragon was in power.

State senators from both political parties met with the editor, who showed them so much evidence, documentary and otherwise, that a special session of the legislature probably will be called to consider and act on it.

The letter which Stephenson wrote to Asher follows:

"My Dear Friend and Partner: I have thought over your plans and I really believe you know what they are about. You are one I am confident will consider and act on it."

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The Appeal Question Box

A. C. Bushman, Brooklyn, of Phoebe, sends the Question Box off in his most lengthy questionnaire to date. In view of the fact that it concerns the important old question between phases of individualism and collectivism, the Appeal will deal with it by communication by installments.

Mr. Bushman says:
"In answering me in your issue of September 16, you say: 'Public Owners are merely ALL INDIVIDUALS SHARING IN THEIR FULL RIGHTS AND POSSESSIONS.'"

"What among their full rights is more important than being equally free? Cannot a gardener possess the land over which he or she tills without any individual or collectively owning it?"

Private ownership in the true sense of the word means the enjoyment of the sources of nature and the sources of life and death. If it isn't equal, it isn't public ownership. In other words, if any individual, group, or sectional clique, possessed greater rights in the enjoyment of what was theoretically held in common, that extent would ownership by everybody be set aside.

THE POWER TO EXCLUDE ANY INDIVIDUAL FROM ANYTHING THAT AFFECTS HIS OR HER ALIVE, FREEDOM OR DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN SOCIALLY ESTABLISHED.

EXCLUDING ALL EXCLUSIVENESS OR PRIVILEGE IN THE USE OF COMMON THINGS IS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

Such a condition cannot be attained among individuals privately appropriating and monopolizing the many sources which the people in common have.

It can be attained by trying to exclude a condition of no-ownership of the common sources of life and the common things—land, minerals, water, power, railroads, etc., etc.—in order that the millions that might have equal freedom of use and enjoyment, would be excluded after class in private monop-

oly in the use and enjoy-

ment of things can be realized.

ONLY BY COMMON HUMAN UNI-

VERSITING Common undivided

sources ORGANIZED AND OR-

GANIZED ARRANGEMENT.

IN ORDER TO REALIZE EQUAL

OWNERSHIP IN THE SOURCES OF

THE LAND WE HAVE TO HAVE A

HUMAN ORGANIZATION BASED ON THIS PRINCIPLE OF FREE-DOM.

THERE ARE NO INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS POSSIBLE APART FROM A DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL WILL.

The fact that you and I and everybody else are the sovereign parts of that social will is the guarantee that in the end it must EXPRESS THAT SUPREME INDIVIDUAL DESIRE EQUAL FREEDOM IN ALL THINGS.

Now, public ownership means EQUAL FREEDOM IN COMMON THINGS UNDER THE ORDERLY REGULATION OF SUCH A SOCIAL WILL COMPOSED OF EQUALLY VALUED INDIVIDUAL UNITS.

Take the case of the gardener. There is no reason why a gardener should be excluded from the USE of whatever land he can use without injury or exclusion of others. There is no reason why any individual should be excluded from the USE of any tool, machine or resource that he can use without excluding others from their rights.

On the other hand, there is no good reason why the gardener should have perpetual private title to a piece of land in order to USE it. Such title does not in any way aid or assist in the act of USE and PRODUCTION. It is a hindrance to production. It runs in the question of land values and land speculation as a method of gaining a livelihood. It permits the NON USE and MIS-USE of the land to the detriment of others.

In the world as we find it today, why does the gardener raise produce? He raises produce to be consumed by others in the main. The consumption of this produce by others involves questions of market, prices, values and quality of consumable products all of which affect the general welfare. Have all these other individuals anything to say about the act of production of this gardener?

Even the land he uses gets its economic value sheerly by virtue of the existence of those other individuals whom he is helping to feed.

SURELY THE RIGHT AND FITTING THING IN THIS SITUATION IS THAT THE TITLE OF THE LAND SHOULD REST WITH THE COMMUNITY WHOSE PERPETUAL EXISTENCE IS CONCERNED BY IT, IN ORDER TO INSURE THE PROPER USE OF THE LAND WHILE THE INDIVIDUAL GARDENER SHOULD NOT BE HAMPERED IN ANY WAY IN HIS USE OF THE LAND SO LONG AS THAT USE IS NOT INJURIOUS TO THE COMMUNITY.

THE MACHINE

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

Said the great machine of iron and wood,
"Man, I am a creature meant for good."

But the criminal clutch of God's greed
Has made me a monster that scatters need.

And want and hunger wherever I go.

I would lift men's burdens and lighten their woe.

I would give them leisure to laugh in the sun.
If owned by the Many—instead of the one,

If owned by the people, the whole wide earth.

Should learn my purpose and know my worth.

I would close the chasm that yawns in our soil.
Twixt unearmed risques and ill paid toil,

No man should hunger, and no man labour.

To the pain of an aile neighbor;

And each man should know when his work was done.

Were I shared by the Many—not owned by one,

I am forced by the few their greed for gain.

For force for the many new letters of pain.

Not this is my purpose, and ever will be.

To set the slaves of the workshop free.

God is stern, the day when, overjoyed,

That desperate host of the unemployed

Should bear my message and understand,

And be no found in an opulent land.

From Poem of Power.

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Forces Behind America's Growing Imperialism

(Written for International Information press service of The Labor and Socialist International, Zurich, Switzerland, by Morris Hillquit, International Secretary, Socialist Party of America).

By MORRIS HILLQUIT

To outward appearance and superficial observation the foreign policy of the United States presents a picture of puzzling inconsistency.

Like a colossal statue of Janus the powerful republic towers above the Western hemisphere, turning a resolute face of medievalism imperialism towards the South while its other face looks at the rest of the world with an expression of benign puritan and hesitant isolationism.

For a full century the United States has pursued a consistent policy of aggression in the two American continents. It has moved its boundary lines West and South by peaceful acquisition of neighboring territory and by wars of conquest. It has not hesitated to send armed expeditions to subjugate friendly but weak sister republics in Central and South America and it still maintains an effective suzerainty over some of them. By a process of steady financial penetration it has secured a dominant economic and political position in most of the Latin-American republics and its influence is fast spreading to the North.

The Real Monroe Doctrine

The ruling classes of the United States fully recognized that the vast territory of the Western hemisphere furnished the most logical and promising field for their expansionist ambitions. Hence the traditional foreign policy of the young republic was to concentrate on America and keep the European rivals out of it. This is the true sense of George Washington's famous warning to his countrymen to avoid foreign "entanglements," and the obvious intent

of the Monroe Doctrine. "The United States claims all of America. It wants nothing but America" may be said to have been the key to the foreign policy of the country during the earlier phases of its history. But the rapid and powerful development of the United States eventually broke down the self-imposed restraints. Towards the end of the last century, the country had attained a leading economic position among the foremost nations. The Western hemisphere became too narrow for its rapidly expanding industries, commerce and banking. It entered into the competitive race for the market of the world.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 signals the first step in the direction of its new policy of unrestricted imperialism. That war gave the United States its first overseas possessions and its first territory in the Eastern hemisphere. Whatever still remained of its traditional foreign policy seemed to be definitely shattered when the country entered the world war in 1917, for the first time sending American troops across the ocean and taking an active and leading part in the spurs and settlements of Europe. The great republic of the West threw itself into the game of world politics with all the might of its tremendous wealth with all the enthusiasm of its vigorous youth.

Post-War Isolation

But immediately after the conclusion of peace its attitude changed suddenly and completely. America had enough of Europe. The great war in which it had mixed the blood of thousands of its young men with the red stream of the combatants of all nations became a thing of the past, a closed adventure unrelated to the general fate and progress of the nation. With one determined movement the United States shed off the bonds which had temporarily

drawn into its shell of "traditional isolation." It never became part of the League of Nations, of which it had been the principal sponsor during the war and the period of formulating the peace treaty. As to the huge loans which it had dispensed during the war, it paid the way into the League itself.

A similar policy of approach is indicated by the administration's recent

views with favor every potential agency

operating in that direction, including the League of Nations and its World Court. Hence also the relative generosity of the American government in the settlement of the war debts.

The multi-millionaire Secretary of the United States Treasury, Mr. Andrew Mellon, has explained the administration's policy with equal brevity and frankness when he declared that "the entire foreign debt of \$25,000,000,000 is not worth so much in dollars and cents to the American people as a prosperous Europe is as a customer." A solvent customer is the happy phrase employed by him.

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Capital Back of Policy

American capital at this time needs a stable, pacified and moderately prosperous Europe. The war has advanced the United States to the position of the world's leading manufacturer, merchant and banker, and the eleven years that have followed the conclusion of peace have vastly increased its economic preponderance. The United States produces manufactured commodities for beyond its own needs. Its surplus inviolable capital increases from year to year. The countries of Europe offer a new and fertile field for the absorption of the American surplus. Europe's economic recovery from the war ravages has proved slower than was anticipated. In the painful process of industrial reconstruction, it needs and will, for a long time continue needing American goods and capital. But Europe in its present distressed position fails to offer sufficient assurances of payment and repayment. It is in the interest of American capital to improve the credit of Europe, to help it attain financial stability. Another great war would irretrievably bankrupt Europe and ruin the most promising market for America.

The maintenance of vastly and productive armed forces diminishes Europe's means of payment. There is no money for the American capitalists in European wars and armaments. Hence American capital at this time sincerely desires the peace of Europe and the reduction of European armament and the greater part of the latter is still

in the American continent. European private debts to America do not exceed \$2,500,000 or about ten per cent of total foreign claims and holdings. Of this amount about three quarters are invested in government securities, while only twenty-five per cent consist of loans to private enterprises. A very interesting distinguishing feature between the United States investments in South America and those in Europe is that while the former are represented chiefly by direct ownership or by participation in the form of share capital, the latter are largely confined to participation, which does not directly affect the control of the enterprise.

American investments in Europe are thus only in their infancy. At the same time the importance of Europe as an investment market for the United States grows steadily as its economic opportunities expand, while those of South America are being exhausted.

U. S. Owning the World

With the constant and rapid growth of surplus wealth the problem of foreign investments is of serious and immediate importance to American capitalism. In 1914 the foreign investments of the United States were estimated at \$25,000,000,000, i.e., about five per cent of the world's total. As against this American securities, principally railroad bonds, were held in foreign countries to the amount of \$6,500,000,000, so that the United States was distinctly a debtor country.

How radically the situation has been changed by the war is indicated by the fact that America has not only bought back the bulk of its securities held abroad but has become a creditor to foreign countries in the stupendous sum of \$25,000,000,000. Of this amount somewhat less than half is represented by government war loans with accumulated interest, while the balance consists of private loans and investments. By far the largest portion of these is still

an instrument of intervention, peace and justice.

British Unions Vote for Industrial Unionism and One Labor International

(The following is the report of the object of securing one big union on Trade Union International should be the same subject of resolution taken at an amendment passed the meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, Holland, on the week done at the recent Trade Union Congress, Bournemouth, England.)

J. F. T. U. The fifty-eighth annual conference of the British Trade Union Congress, held at Bournemouth from the 8th to the 11th of September, was attended by 697 delegates representing 208 unions with a total membership of 4,265,312, an increase of 11,312 on the 1923 figures.

In his opening speech, Mr. A. Pugh, the Chairman of the Congress, pointed out that the general strike had "reflected the growing discontent of the workers with the whole structure and policy of the industrial system." On the international question Comptroller Pugh made the following remarks: "Practical consideration should be given to the question of obtaining international trade union agreements and understandings by which, combined with the prevention of the importation of the products of sweat labor, Trade Unionism in the countries were for economic standards prevail will be assisted by the stronger countries to build up effective organizations of the ill-paid and exploited workers. That, it seems to me, will open up a new field of international trade union endeavor, and will be extremely effective in the direction of international trade union unity. We are in danger of laying too much stress upon a merely formal and mechanical unity in the field of international trade union organization. A mere fusion of existing trade union bodies would fail to bring real unity unless there is also a common will and purpose, a common conception of aim and method, and of the ends to be served by international cooperation. The Congress is firm in its desire to bring about internal and unity, but it must be a living unity of mind and heart, springing from a genuine spirit of friendship and understanding, not a lifeless and deceptive reorganization of one international machine."

One International

With regard to the question of international trade union unity, the Congress adopted a resolution to the effect that since Congress, viewing the world-wide character of trade unionism, declared that it is essential that one united

Striking refutation of statements that are being assiduously spread in Great Britain, Austria, and other countries by hand-picked "messiahs" that the worker is rolling in wealth under the benign regime of American capitalism comes from the Wall Street Journal itself.

That great section of skilled and unskilled workers, the American factory workers, is not enjoying marked prosperity, while the owners undoubtedly would have instructed the General Council of the U. S. C. to call the I. E. T. U. to summon a conference free from all restrictions, between the I. E. T. U. and the Red International of Labor. They show that the Fall River, Massachusetts, textile workers now gets only a trifle over 65 a month to feed, cloth and shelter his family.

Wages in Fall River cottonmills in 1914, the journal shows, averaged only \$300 for the entire year's work. In only one year since has the average reached \$300. That was in 1920 when mill workers earned an average of \$310. In 1924, the last year covered by The Wall Street Journal, the annual wage was \$610 to \$620.

In spite of these extremely low wages, less than the lowest family subsistence, and in spite of operations in the last four years running as low as 30 per cent of capacity, Fall River dividends continue. In 1920 they rose to \$12,000, or more than 4 times the pre-war figure; and in 1924, with operations shrunk down to half of capacity, Fall River dividends were \$5 per cent above 1914.

Total dividends in 1914 were \$12,250,000. In 1921 they were \$14,911,344, and in 1924 when the mills were running as low as 30 per cent capacity, they were \$22,112,500.

In 1917, when the total value of their output had increased 60 per cent over 1914, wages had increased only 32 per cent. In 1924 the value of their output was up 100 per cent and their wages 35 per cent. In 1920 the figures were 175 per cent and 98 per cent, and in 1924 when the value of the product was 242 per cent over pre-war, wages were only 137 per cent. This means that the percentage of wages to the total value of the product fell from 26.1 per cent in 1914 to a low point of 17.1 per cent in 1924.

In 1924, when the dividends paid by these mills were 80 per cent over 1914, wages forced only 35 per cent above the year. Cost of living was 21 per cent higher.

State-Owned Road to Extend Plan of Worker Cooperation

Montreal, Que.—The Canadian management corporation plan is to be extended to the maintenance of a department of the Canadian National Railways.

This was agreed upon last week when a committee representing the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and the management decided to conduct a survey of the system.

They have secured the services of Captain O. S. Beyers, Jr., who has much to do with introducing the cooperative plan on both sides of the line. Two main features are to be studied, stabilization of employment and definition of mileage.

This will be done by means of a living wage on a National Industrial Conference board basis to about 80,000 worker families, approximately 1,000,000 persons. It meant a return of about 9 per cent on the \$1,000,000,000 capital, surplus and undivided profits of these banks and of 20 per cent on the actual paid-in capital.

In 1923 these banks paid cash dividends totalling \$272,686,000, representing a return of about 13 per cent on the total paid-in capital. The remaining

surplus and undivided profits went to well-subsidized and undivided profits. The combined surpluses now total \$84,860,000 or 8 per cent of the capital, while the undivided profits total

views with favor every potential agency operating in that direction, including the League of Nations and its World Court. Hence also the relative generosity of the American government in the settlement of the war debts.

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It is, of course, quite obvious that borrowing, etc.,

Europe, and particularly the U. S. S. R., the latter's obligations to the United States were cancelled or reduced.

The United States cannot long sustain the attitude of shoddy capitalism.

Sooner or later it will be forced into an obligation to transact business with the protection of its economic power.

If for no other reason, American capitalism is ready for it even though the task that confronts the League of European friends of the League of Nations is to elucidate the liberal opinion in the United States. That task will be a long one in measure as the League of Nations has been from the course of imperialistic struggle and gives proof of a sincere determination to become independent. It has heretofore been largely a tool of the capitalist class.

Why It Must Be "No"

Silverbberg said that Social Democracy must take up its stand on facts and must reject the Radical-Social-Aristocratic and the ever-destructive non-constructive policy of the Street and of violence, in order, together with the employers and under their leadership, to show Germany the way to future success.

The "Vorwärts" replies to that words in the following terms:

"Here Silverbberg goes on to make a demand for the abandonment by the working class of the class conflict and his demand is one more proof of the ignorance of the employers of the class conflict ideology. Class conflict is the inevitable form of the struggle of the working class to obtain social justice from the employers' class. Class conflict is every act which helps to raise the well-being of the masses in the fight for the reward of labor, for the protection of the weak, for the recognition of the worth of the workers in the state and in society. The National Union of Employers has declared and declared more than once that it wants an army of workers physically and mentally sound. Yet it desires to limit the social expansion necessary to secure this. And there is the workers' representatives must not with hand grenades and other weapons but by constitutional means, i.e., those which are available to us in a Republic, and with the weapons of their political and trade union organization. For the workers to abandon this fight would be to abandon a path of progress.

"One answer only, therefore, can be given to this question: and that answer is a decided "No."

Nor can the workers admit the fact of the employers to the leadership of economic policy. In constitutional questions, in questions of foreign policy, Social Democracy has done pioneering work; it has done such work for many decades. Through the new state and under the leadership of the party it will have to be admitted reluctantly or not, that in the great tradition of principle underlying economic policy, Social Democracy has never failed in Bolshevik experiments, often as it has been accused of doing so in the employers' class.

"This means that the attitude of the Party to capitalism and to those who wield the sceptre of capitalism in the world of business was clearly defined in advance. Social Democracy has never

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"The big bank profits go to the industrial centers east of the Mississippi. New York banks alone took 50 per cent of all the profits going to the country. Here is one more indication of the extent to which capitalist industry is bringing agriculture under its heel.

Beauty of Installment Buying

O. H. Cheney, a New York banker, characterizes installment buying as follows:

"Installment selling is the greatest curse of modern civilization. It has brought up the consumer's standard of living to a point where each industry must be compelled to sell a dollar of next week, or the next